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COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
Sub-Commission on Prevention of
Discrimination and Protection
of Minorities
Forty-fourth session
Agenda item 10 (a)

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF DETAINEES

QUESTION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF PERSONS SUBJECTED TO ANY FORM OF DETENTION OR IMPRISONMENT

Written statement submitted by the World Confederation of Labour, a non-governmental organization in consultative status (category I), by the American Association of Jurists, Andean Commission of Jurists - Colombian Section, Arab Lawyers Union, Arab Organization for Human Rights, Commission for the Defence of Human Rights in Central America, Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches, Defence for Children International, Human Rights Advocates, International Association of Democratic Lawyers, International Federation Terre des Hommes, International Fellowship of Reconciliation, International Indian Treaty Council, International League for the Rights and Liberation of Peoples, International Movement for Fraternal Union among Races and Peoples, International Service for Human Rights, Latin American Federation of Associations of Relatives of Disappeared Detainees, Pax Christi International, Pax Romana, Service Justice and Peace in Latin America, Union of Arab Jurists, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, World Association of Former United Nations Interns and Fellows and World University Service, non-governmental organizations in consultative status (category II), and by the Movement against Racism and for Friendship among Peoples, World Organization against Torture and World Social Prospects Association, non-governmental organizations on the Roster

The Secretary-General has received the following communication, which is circulated in accordance with Economic and Social Council resolution 1296 (XLIV).

9 March 1992

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1. We think that a study on the impunity of gross violations of human rights should take into account the following points:

(a) Crimes against humanity. The notion of crime against humanity is an integral part of present international law. On 8 April 1945, with the signature of the Agreement of London, this concept took the character of a natural right in the statute of military tribunals: Statute of the International Military Tribunal of Nuremberg, paragraph (c) of article 6; Charter of the Military Tribunal for the Far East, paragraph (c) of article 5; Law No. 10 of the Council of the Allied Control, paragraph 36 (c) of article II and in the jurisprudence of the Tribunals of Nuremberg and Tokyo. Later on, it was the subject of different resolutions of the General Assembly 1/ and it is present in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and the Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity;

(b) Gross violations of civil and political human rights;

(c) Gross violations of economic, social and cultural rights and of the right to development. Many economic practices recommended and carried out by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and by large corporations as well as by transnational banks, along with so-called "white collar crime", negate any possibility for peoples and individuals to enjoy their economic, social and cultural rights also constitute gross violations of fundamental human rights which must not go unpunished. The protection of human rights must be global, because of the indivisibility and interdependence of economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights as recognized by the General Assembly. 2/

2. Impunity is not a problem peculiar to some regions of the world. It must be studied from a global point of view. Wherever human rights have been violated, or continue to be violated, without the culprits being prosecuted and punished, the problem of impunity arises.

3. Impunity also has a political dimension. Crimes against humanity and gross violations of human rights negate every possibility of coexistence between human beings and, as a consequence, every democratic procedure for settling disputes in society. Impunity only makes it worse and, to this extent, hampers democratic evolution. Transitions towards democracy or peace negotiations in situations of internal conflict are doomed to failure if they do not take into account the punishment of the culprits, the eviction from the administration of State officials who have violated human rights and the outlawing of the doctrines and practices which lead to violations. Where there is impunity, there is no democracy.

4. Gross violations of human rights committed in the past must be punished. First of all because crimes against humanity are not subject to statutes of limitation 3/ and international law imposes the obligation to punish the culprits. The concept of crime against humanity is not closed; it does not refer to a limited series of criminal acts.

5. In his report to the French Cour de Cassation on the Barbie case, Counsellor Le Guhenec stated that a crime against humanity is "... first of all a violation of fundamental human rights: the right to equality, without distinction as to race, colour or nationality and the right to the respect of political or religious opinions of every human being. This crime is not only intended to provoke injury or death; it adds to injuries or to death a voluntary, deliberate and gratuitous violation of the dignity of the victims, because they belong to a human group different from that of the culprits or which does not accept their domination".

In the same report, Counsellor Le Guhenec affirmed that the motive which inspired the author of a crime against humanity, that is to say his desire "to associate himself with a governmental or State policy of extermination, persecution or deportation motivated by political, racial or religious reasons". This was also the conclusion of the solicitor-general, M. Dontewille: "... everybody is agreed that at this level the crime against humanity supposes the implementation of a programmed State policy".

6. Other gross violations of human rights which are not crimes against humanity must have statutes of limitation proportional to their gravity. These grave crimes should not go unpunished because the effective application of punishment to those who have committed them demonstrates the value that society places on life, freedom and dignity. The aim of punishment is to maintain the rule of law as an orientative model of social relations and to ensure that gross violations of human rights remain engraved in the historical memory of peoples so as to avoid their repetition.

7. The impunity enjoyed by the culprits encourages the repetition of the crime, as was recognized by the Special Rapporteur on torture 4/ and by the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances. 5/ Impunity is a means to ensure the persistence of State terrorism.

8. Impunity endangers international law because it negates the justiciable character of human rights consecrated by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (art. 8) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. On the other hand, international law imposes on States the general obligation to pursue, try and punish the authors of gross violations of fundamental human rights. Equally, reparation on the moral and material harm suffered must be an inalienable right of the victims and of their relatives. The effect of this reparation must not be to paralyse actions aimed at investigating the crimes, condemning the culprits or avoiding State responsibility. Impunity is a manifest violation of this general obligation.

9. Impunity is in itself a violation of the right to justice recognized by the Universal Declaration (arts. 7 and 8) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (arts. 2 and 14). Impunity infringes, inter alia, the right of the families of the victims of enforced disappearances to know the fate of their relatives, a right expressly recognized by the international law of armed conflicts 6/ and by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. 7/ In this respect, impunity renders inoperative the international system of protection of human rights.

10. Numerous and various are the mechanisms, practices and institutions that make impunity possible. We believe that the study of impunity cannot be limited to the phenomenon of amnesty and leave aside some important mechanisms which enable States to divest themselves of their obligation to punish the perpetrators of crimes against humanity and gross violations of human rights. Consequently, we are convinced that any study on impunity must take into account the following phenomena:

(a) Amnesties and pardons;

(b) Compulsory submission and other forms of exoneration from criminal responsibility;

(c) Penal privileges granted to the perpetrators of grievous violations of human rights, which have in practice the same effect as amnesties;

(d) Judicial and administrative procedures that hinder or prevent the punishment of violations of human rights as well as special procedures and judicial privileges that guarantee impunity to State officials;

(e) Loss of independence of the judiciary and the militarization of the administration of justice;

(f) Attribution of competence to military tribunals to judge crimes pertaining to ordinary criminal legislation or the subject of international law;

(g) Attribution of facilities of judicial and investigating police to armed and security forces;

(h) Maintenance in office of State officials who have violated human rights by omission or commission;

(i) Teaching of doctrines such as those of "national security" and of "low intensity conflicts" in military or police schools and in general the training which is given to military and security personnel in contradiction to the respect of values inherent to the human condition;

(j) Inappropriate regulation of international and regional mechanisms for the protection of human rights in national legislations;

(k) Existence of paramilitary groups as well as of illegal structures inside State security services;

(l) Violations of the right consecrated in the Universal Declaration, in the International Covenants on Human Rights and in other international instruments when they clearly seem linked to the misuse or abuse of power indicated above.

11. Finally, we deem it necessary to try to find permanent solutions to this serious evil and for this reason we suggest:

(a) The establishment within the United Nations system of a permanent mechanism on impunity - a special rapporteur or working group, for instance - that would look more closely into this phenomenon;

(b) The adoption of an international instrument on impunity, as well as of a convention on enforced disappearances;

(c) The periodic establishment and publication of lists giving the identity of the perpetrators of violations of human rights;

(d) The publication of information concerning the status of investigations and legal proceedings. 8/

(e) The adoption and implementation of measures aimed at the realization of the principle of universal jurisdiction, consecrated in the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (arts. 5 and 7) and in the International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries (art. 9);

(f) The creation of an international criminal jurisdiction, as provided for by the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (arts. V and VI) and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (arts. IV and VI). The General Assembly has requested the International Law Commission to continue its work on this issue.

Notes

1/ Resolutions 95 (I) of 1946, 177 (II) of 1947, 488 of 1950, 3 (I) of 1946 and 2583 (XXIV) of 1969.

2/ Resolutions 32/130 of 16 December 1977, 44/130 of December 1989 and 45/96 of 14 December 1990.

3/ Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity.

4/ E/CN.4/1990/17.

5/ E/CN.4/1990/13, E/CN.4/1991/20 and E/CN.4/1992/18 and Add.1.

6/ Protocol I additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 of 8 June 1974, art. 32.

7/ Decisions on the disappearances of Manfredo Velásquez and Godínez Cruz, of 29 July 1988 and 20 January 1989.

8/ E/CN.4/1992/18, para. 22.

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Agenda item 6

QUESTION OF THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, INCLUDING POLICIES OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND SEGREGATION AND OF APARTHEID IN ALL COUNTRIES, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO COLONIAL AND OTHER DEPENDENT TERRITORIES AND COUNTRIES: REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMISSION UNDER COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION 8 (XXIII)

Written statement submitted by Pax Romana, a non-governmental organization in consultative status (category II)

The Secretary-General has received the following communication, which is circulated in accordance with the Economic and Social Council resolution 1296 (XLIV).

[10 August 1992]

1. The information contained in this document comes from the Committee for Vietnamese Disabled Ex-Servicemen.

2. On 30 April 1975, South Viet Nam was annexed by communist North Viet Nam, which, since then, has subjected all Vietnamese territory to a totalitarian police regime. Ex-servicemen in South Viet Nam are regarded as traitors who owe blood money to the people. As a result, they are persecuted, sent en masse either to re-education camps which are no more than disguised goulags or to unhealthy regions to clear away areas the Government has pompously called "new economic zones".

3. Disabled ex-servicemen in South Viet Nam are included among this category of people, yet their fate is more tragic. Their wheelchairs and artifical limbs have been confiscated and given to invalid ex-soldiers from the conquering army. They have been removed from hospitals to make way for the wounded from North Viet Nam. From one day to the next, the blind, the armless, the legless, the tetraplegics have been taken away from hospitals and vocational training centres. Worse still, their homes have been seized, and they have been sent to the new economic zones without a thought for their state of health. It does not matter whether they live or die! In the case of the disabled ex-servicemen from South Viet Nam, every day their human rights are trampled underfoot, more especially in regard to the following:

Violation of article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

4. Among the countless victims we shall mention only the most typical. The tetraplegics and persons with amputated upper or lower limbs, hospitalized at Vung Tau, approximately 110 km from Saigon, were brutally expelled from the hospital. Most of them died for lack of medical care; some of them survived thanks to their families and the charity of neighbours. This was the case with Mr. Phan Van Canh, c/o Mr. Truong Dinh Rot, 106/3, To 21, Pham Hong Thai Street, Dac Khu Vung Tau, in the province of Con Dao, South Viet Nam. Paralysed from the waist down and living in a wretched hovel for more than 17 years he had to lie out on a camp bed, unable to control the need to urinate and defecate. With care from an octogenarian mother who herself lived in destitution, he survived until 12 May 1992. A list of paralytics and amputees fills in this sorry picture. Some are reduced to begging; they include a person well known in Saigon, Mr. Son Quest, of mixed Cambodian-Vietnamese parentage, who had both legs amputated. He lives from hand to mouth close to a public rubbish dump. Another, Mr. Pham Choi, with one arm and both legs amputated up to the groin, lives at To 27, in the village of Tan Loi, district of Dong Phu, province of Song Be. Mr. Truong Dinh Rot, a paralytic, spoke eloquently of the sufferings of these poor paralytics and amputees, driven out of Vung Tau hospital.

5. The suffering of the blind is as great. Mr. Tan Den, c/o Mr. Phan Thoi, 3i Anton Street, P.7, in the district of Tan Binh, in Saigon, suffered severe burns and is, moreover, deaf and blind. He was left completely to his fate and survived only with the help of other cripples. Mr. Do Van Binh, a former Second Lieutenant, a Catholic and a Eurasian, became a refugee in France and lives at 167 La Croix Saint Sylvère, 95000 Cergy. He tells of the tortures he endured while he was at the Re-education Centre in Trang Lon, province of Tay Ninh, South Viet Nam. He suffered serious eye wounds in the last days of the war and was hospitalized at the military hospital in Cong-Hoa, province of Gia Dinh, South Viet Nam. Thrown out of the hospital shortly afterwards, he was then sent to the Re-education Centres, although his eyes were still protected by bandages and he walked with difficulty on crutches. Because he was a Eurasian and a Catholic he was put among the lepers, a term used for persons who were decadent and beyond recovery in the eyes of the regime. Despite his pitiful state, he was assigned to forced labour and inhuman and degrading work. Every day he had to go down into the latrines to collect the human excrement, which was used as fertilizer.

He then had to spread it on the ground used to grow vegetables. Every day large numbers of worms crawled over his body, went into his wounds and his eyes and fed on his pus and his blood.

Violation of articles 9, 13 and 17 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

6. Many severely disabled ex-servicemen are dispossessed, are taken away and are left to fend for themselves without the slightest social assistance or medical care in the new economic zones, along with their families, who were persecuted in the same way. There are many cases and they include 50 families of disabled ex-servicemen that have been exiled to the new economic zone in Dong Trang, province of Khanh Hoa, in Central Viet Nam. The most typical family is that of Mr. Nguyen Ro, at Thon 2, in the village of Dien Dong, province of Khanh Hoa, Central Viet Nam. He has only one leg. In order to subsist, along with his family, he works a stony piece of land with difficulty, aided by his wife and one of his children, who drags the plough. Only recently, following the upheavals in Eastern Europe, has the Administration loosened its grip.

Violation of articles 3, 20 and 22 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

7. Recently, in March 1990, a group of disabled ex-servicemen was able to contact compatriots abroad in order to set up, with their help, a programme to assist those who were still in Viet Nam and to come to the aid of the destitute and the wretched. They redistributed the assistance from abroad: money from collections, theatre or musical performances and fund-raising events. Their humanitarian work is frowned on by the Security service, which keeps a close watch on them and calls them into Bureau PA16 (the counter-espionage service) in Saigon. Like many others, the group's representative, Mr. Dinh Trung Thu, who lives at 87 bis Cao Thang Street, 3rd district, Saigon, has been subjected to endless trying questioning and to intimidation. In the end, he was forced to promise not to do any more in this type of work and he is now under police surveillance.

8. The bank account containing the sum of 17,000 francs sent from France at the beginning of 1992 has been blocked by government order, when thousands of tetraplegics, amputees, blind people and badly burned people are living wretchedly in great need of this money in order to carry on living. Mr. Phan Van Canh, mentioned above, would not have died from hunger and lack of medicine if a tiny part of this sum had been released. Meanwhile, other severely disabled ex-servicemen will inexorably suffer the same fate.

9. Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims the right to life. This article must be respected in the case of disabled ex-servicemen and of those whose life is threatened. It is difficult to understand why the Vietnamese Government, incapable of providing for the subsistence and well-being of the people it rules, constantly places obstacles in the way of any act of good will to help the unfortunate, the wretched, the rejected.

10. It is distressing to find that so many people are unaware of the existence of these disabled ex-servicemen in South Viet Nam who have been left to the mercy of the conquerors. Their rights have been trampled underfoot by the present Government for more than 17 years, without the world public feeling disturbed. It is time to bring this deplorable situation to an end so that our unfortunate compatriots can lead a life of human dignity and so that their rights are respected. This will be done through you.

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ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Written statement submitted by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, a non-governmental organization in consultative status (category II)*

The Secretary-General has received the following communication, which is circulated in accordance with Economic and Social Council resolution 1296 (XLIV).

[10 August 1992]

1. Since the fall of communism, there has been a resurgence of the old demons of nationalism and anti-semitism on the European continent, and particularly in central and eastern Europe. The experience of communist rule for four decades after the Second World War merely froze rather than resolved

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* This is an abridged version of the paper given by Professor Robert Wistrich at a conference on "Anti-semitism in post-totalitarian Europe" held in Prague in the summer of 1992. Professor Wistrich, a world-renowned expert on anti-semitism, holds the Chair of Jewish Studies at London University and of European History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His recent book, Antisemitism, the Longest Hatred has recently been published in London and New York. A longer version of this statement was published by Commentary (New York) magazine in its August 1992 issue.

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these underlying conflicts and tensions, including the anti-semitism which between the two world wars was an integral expression of the struggle for Polish, Romanian, Hungarian, or Slovak national identity. Once that iron grip came unfastened, many of the old wounds resurfaced, alongside and in opposition to aspirations for national independence based on traditions deriving from the western Enlightenment.

2. The "Jewish question" has definitely been revived in the wake of the collapse of the communist regimes, and has become inextricable from all the nagging issues of national identity - of what actually constitutes Polishness, Czechness, Hungarianness, etc. - that bedevil eastern European society. We are witnessing the gory results of that larger contention today in Yugoslavia, and perhaps tomorrow in the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine, Hungary, Romania and the Balkans. Czechs and Slovaks may have united to overthrow communism but since then, and despite the close linguistic ties between them, militant separatism has revived in Slovakia (now on the verge of independence), and the Jews have been dragged into the picture.

3. In forging their national identity, Czechs can at least look back to a functioning interwar liberal democracy, which preceded the Nazi conquest and the later communist seizure of power. But Slovak nationalists, dreaming of sovereignty, look back with admiration to Monseigneur Josef Tiso, the leader of the only separate Slovak State in modern times, who collaborated with the Nazis and bore considerable responsibility for the genocide of Slovak Jews. Is it any wonder, then, that with Mgr. Tiso's rehabilitation, anti-semitic slogans have multiplied on the walls of Bratislava and other Slovak cities? Czechs, too, are hardly immune from such intolerance. In the Czech areas of Bohemia and Moravia, there has been a rise in xenophobic attacks on Gypsies and migrant foreign workers, and a mushrooming of skinhead and neo-Nazi gangs.

4. The situation is much worse in embattled Croatia, where the President, Mr. Franjo Tudjman, has proved to be a specialist in the rewriting of history. In a book published in 1989, Mr. Tudjman reduced the number of Jewish victims of the Holocaust to 1 million, and accused Jews of having "taken the initiative in preparing and provoking not only individual atrocities but also the mass slaughter of non-Jews, communists, partisans, and Serbs". According to Mr. Tudjman, Jews participated in liquidating Gypsies in the notorious Jasenovac camp, when in fact the truth is the exact opposite: thousands of Serbs and innocent Jews were brutally murdered there by the pro-Nazi Croatian Ustashe. In the same work appropriately entitled Wastelands of Historical Reality, Mr. Tudjman even labels Israel a "Judeo-Nazi" State. It is fortunate for the 2,000 Jews in today's Croatia that President Tudjman's popular support derives not from his anti-semitism but from a perfectly legitimate protest at Serbian domination, from the seizure of Croat territories and from the longstanding historical aspirations for Croatian independence.

5. As for Poland, Hungary and Romania, the elections of 1990 showed that in these countries popular anti-semitism is still a factor that can be exploited in public life.

6. In Romania, in particular, since the coup of December 1989 there has been a steady rise in both xenophobia and anti-semitism, despite the fact that only about 18,000 Jews remain in the country. The nationalist opposition newspaper Romania Mare, with a circulation of over half a million, regularly features anti-semitic articles. In April 1991, the editor claimed that too many Jews held key positions in Romania:

> "The heads of television and radio are all Jews, and in parliament it rains Jews by the bucket. It's not their fault - domination has been their style since the dawn of time - but can't they let us breath a little, instead of trampling on us as they have been doing since 1947?"

7. This charge has been echoed in a number of other newspapers which frequently blame the Jews for bringing communism to Romania. Some members of the Committee for National Salvation, including the former Prime Minister, Mr. Petre Roman, have also been attacked for being of Jewish origin. The problem was further aggravated in April 1991 by a silent tribute in the Romanian parliament to the memory of the country's anti-semitic wartime dictator, Marshal Ion Antonescu, favoured ally of Hitler.

8. The situation is even worse in Poland. According to recent surveys, in a country where there remain at most 10,000 Jews out of a population of nearly 40 million, over 30 per cent of the populace hold anti-semitic views. This has led to such grotesque absurdities as the 1990 whisper campaign against the then Prime Minister, M. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a Catholic accused of being a "crypto-Jew". At the end of 1990, not surprisingly, there was a rash of swastika daubings on Jewish buildings in Warsaw and elsewhere, and slogans like "A Good Jew is a Dead Jew" appeared at the Umschlagplatz, the site from which in the summer of 1942 some 500,000 Warsaw Jews were shipped to the Treblinka death camp.

9. Poland is perhaps the most spectacular example showing that anti-semitism does not always require the presence of Jews in order to flourish. But it is not the only such example. Whether we are dealing with the desecration of Jewish cemeteries, mindless graffiti, pseudo-intellectual theories about a world Jewish conspiracy of "hidden" Jews in the Government, this type of anti-semitism can be detected all over central and eastern Europe today. It even surfaces as part of the "explanatory" mechanism behind the measures taken in some of these countries against Gypsies, who today bear the brunt of racial stereotyping and social harassment in eastern Europe. For who but the Jews, with their well-known world conspiracy, could be behind the influx of these "undesirable" people?

10. Something similar is happening in western and central Europe as well, where the fear of being "swamped" by unassimilable foreign cultures has given impetus to a resurgent radical Right. In France, Belgium, Germany and Austria this new Right links, and will continue to link, the imaginary "Jewish question" with the real problem of foreign immigration. For the hard-core racists of western Europe, anti-semitism is anyway a central pillar of their outlook, and they have no difficulty depicting the alleged threat to the white European race as part of a diabolical Jewish conspiracy against "Aryan" civilization.

11. Within Germany itself, since the winter of 1991 foreign workers have been attacked in ever-increasing numbers by jack-booted neo-Nazis and skinheads, and crowds have cheered on these thugs as they besiege the hostels sheltering immigrants. But behind the hostility toward foreigners there is also more than a palpable tinge of racism, as ultra-Right groups have campaigned on the slogan "Germany for the Germans". In the city-State of Bremen, at the end of September 1991, one such group, the Deutsche Volksunion, won 6.2 per cent of the vote, and it recently repeated this performance in Schleswig-Holstein. The radical right-wing Republikaner did even better in Baden-Würtemberg in April 1992, winning 11 per cent of the ballot.

12. In Austria, the radical Right has made even more spectacular gains than in Germany. In November 1991, Mr. Jörg Haider's Austrian Freedom Party won 23 per cent of the vote in Vienna on an anti-foreigner platform. Unlike Mr. Fraz Schonhüber in Germany, Mr. Halder is no Waffen-SS veteran but a charismatic 41-year-old who represents the new wave of yuppie-style proto-fascism in central Europe. Mr. Haider himself has praised the "orderly employment policy" of the Third Reich and has eulogized the Austrian soldiers who fell in the service of the German Wehrmacht. Though Jews are not usually targeted in his electoral politics, there is no doubt that his Freedom Party contains a hard core of unreconstructed anti-semites.

13. It would be a mistake to exaggerate the threat: what still remains of Jewish life has in many ways improved dramatically with the demise of communism, and others, especially the Gypsies, are hated more than the Jews. But it would be a bigger mistake to ignore the threat, if only because anti-semitism is nowadays more openly expressed and Jews therefore feel more insecure, especially in the territories of the former Soviet Union.

14. Today, popular anti-semitism all over Russia and east central Europe is no longer a government policy (masquering as propaganda against Israel, Zionism or Judaism), but a spontaneous, often unpredictable sentiment whose bottom line is that the Jews are to be blamed for everything that is going wrong. However negligible the Jewish proportion of the populace in central and eastern Europe today, it seems that life cannot go on without the Judaeus ex machina. If he did not exist, then anti-semites would have to invent him; and so they appear to be doing. The persistence of this plague remains a major challenge to all who care about the progress of democracy, human rights and religious pluralism in the contemporary world.